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ABSTRACT

The monograph investigates and evaluates UNESCO's role in educational development in Africa. The document is presented in four major sections. Section I clarifies key terms including cooperation (collaboration between two nations or organizations on a project or program), and aid (external financial contributions with or without strings attached). Section II focuses on distribution of educational aid in African nations in response to economic need and educational objectives. Findings indicate that poorer nations do not receive a relatively larger share of international aid than do their richer neighbors. Section III discusses UNESCO's involvement in educational aid and considers UNESCO's perception of educational needs in developing nations. Chapter IV suggests a new approach to international cooperation for educational development. The approach would be based on the assumption that developing nations should be responsible for deciding which problems need to be worked on and selecting the organization or nation from which they want to obtain advice and/or aid. UNESCO's contributions to this approach would include a directory of international educational cooperation, studies of national educational systems, and technical assistance. The document concludes with tables showing enrollment ratios and aid expenditures in 32 African nations and a detailed discussion of educational aid to Zambia and Kenya. (DB)

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A COMMENT ON UNESCO'S ROLE IN INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION FOR DEVELOPMENT

by

W. van Vliet

June 1979

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Mr. W. van Vliet, now retired, was formerly the Director of Unesco's Division of Educational Financing. He may be contacted through that Division.

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FOREWORD

Unesco's General Conference at its 19th session (Nairobi, Kenya, 1976) resolved that the Secretariat give particular attention to "gathering and disseminating information about new educational policies for the renewal of educational systems, adapted to specific needs on the basis of particular social, economic and cultural situations and aimed at promoting democratization of the systems within the framework of life-long education" (Programme Resolution 1.111).

In line with this mandate the Division of Educational Policy and Planning began in 1977 reproducing selected technical papers and distributing them as a series under the general title: "Reports, Studies ...". The aim of this series is to stimulate reflection and discussion on current issues confronting educational policy-makers, planners, administrators and school architects. Distribution is limited to Unesco officials at Headquarters and in the field, as well as interested technical personnel in governmental and private institutions. It is hoped that this series will promote and serve as a vehicle for increasing communication between individuals and institutions concerned with policy and planning aspects of education.

The "Reports, Studies ..." series consists of two sub-series : (i) papers with a subject orientation (numbered S.1, S.2, etc.) and (ii) papers focusing on a given country (numbered C.1, C.2, etc.). Subject papers deal with such topics as educational policies and legislation, planning and management techniques, planning and design of educational space and facilities, the relationship of education to productive work and employment, inter-country cooperation, the role of education in respect of the New International Economic Order, etc. Country papers are either brief profiles of the educational system of a particular country (mainly the LDCs) or treat a specific reform or aspect of the country's educational system.

Some of the papers reproduced in the series are "desk studies" based on information available within Unesco, others were originally prepared as background or discussion papers for a meeting or seminar, while still others are personal position papers representing part of a continuous dialogue within the Unesco Secretariat.

Papers are selected for the series on the basis of their topical interest. Readers should bear in mind that many, if not most, of the papers are working documents, unedited and not intended for public distribution. Some of the authors have written in a language other than their mother tongue, which explains certain linguistic deficiencies. It must also be stressed that the papers present the ideas of their respective author and do not necessarily reflect the policies of Unesco.

The Division of Educational Policy and Planning welcomes comments and suggestions concerning the series and invites readers to make known their reactions to particular ideas presented or to entire papers. In certain cases it may be possible to reproduce such comments and reactions in a subsequent issue of the series. For the convenience of readers who may wish to contact the author of a paper, the current contact address is given whenever possible.

AVANT PROPOS

La Conférence Général de l'Unesco, lors de sa 19e session (Nairobi, Kenya, 1976) a décidé que "la collecte et la dissémination de l'information sur les nouvelles politiques d'éducation pour le renouvellement et la réforme des systèmes d'éducation adaptés aux besoins spécifiques basés sur des situations sociales, économiques et culturelles particulières et qui ont comme objectif la démocratisation des systèmes dans le cadre de l'éducation permanente" (Résolution 1.111 du programme) se situent parmi les objectifs prioritaires de l'Organisation.

Conformément à ce mandat, la Division des politiques et de la planification de l'éducation a entrepris en 1977 la reproduction et la distribution de certains documents techniques, sous le titre général de "Rapports et Etudes ...". Cette série a pour objet de stimuler la réflexion et les discussions portant sur les problèmes courants auxquels doivent faire face les décideurs, les planificateurs et les administrateurs de l'éducation ainsi que les architectes scolaires. La distribution se limite aux professionnels du Siège et hors-Siège, ainsi qu'aux personnels d'institutions gouvernementales ou privées susceptibles de les trouver utiles pour leur travail. Nous espérons que cette série constituera un moyen pour promouvoir et augmenter la communication entre les individus et les institutions concernés par les différents aspects des politiques et de la planification de l'éducation.

Ces "Rapports et Etudes ..." se divisent en deux catégories: (i) les documents qui traitent d'un sujet (numérotés S.1, S.2, etc.) et (ii) les documents qui traitent d'un pays (numérotés C.1, C.2, etc. Les premiers portent sur des sujets tels que les politiques et la législation de l'éducation, les techniques de gestion et de planification, la planification et l'étude des espaces, constructions et équipements éducatifs, la relation entre éducation/travail/emploi, la coopération entre les pays, le rôle de l'éducation par rapport au Nouvel ordre économique international, etc. Les seconds présentent des profils du système éducatif d'un pays donné (principalement les pays les moins développés), ou traitent d'une réforme ou d'un aspect spécifique du système éducatif du pays concerné.

Certains des documents reproduits dans cette série sont des "desk studies" basées sur des informations déjà existantes à l'Unesco, d'autres ont été préparés à l'origine pour servir de documents de base ou de discussion à des réunions ou séminaires, alors que d'autres encore, exprimant les positions personnelles des auteurs, se situent dans le cadre d'un dialogue permanent au sein du Secrétariat de l'Unesco.

Les documents sont choisis pour cette série en fonction de l'actualité du sujet traité. Les lecteurs doivent tenir compte du fait que beaucoup, sinon la plupart, des documents sont des documents de travail inédits et ne sont pas destinés au public. Certains auteurs ont rédigé ces documents dans une langue qui n'est pas la leur, ce qui explique certaines faiblesses linguistiques. Nous voudrions également souligner que les documents expriment les idées de leurs auteurs respectifs et ne reflètent pas nécessairement la politique de l'Unesco.

La Division des politiques et de la planification de l'éducation souhaite recevoir des commentaires ou suggestions au sujet de la série, et demande aux lecteurs de bien vouloir faire part de leurs réactions à certaines idées exprimées ou à des documents dans leur ensemble. Dans certains cas, il sera peut-être possible de reproduire ces commentaires et réactions lors d'une prochaine parution de la série. Les adresses des auteurs des documents sont indiquées afin de donner aux lecteurs qui le désirent la possibilité d'entre en contact avec eux.

RESUME

Alors que le programme d'assistance technique de l'Unesco, pour des projets d'éducation dans les pays en développement, a été modeste par rapport au volume total de l'aide à l'éducation (c'est-à-dire les contributions extérieures), l'Organisation a également favorisé la coopération entre les pays en voie de développement et les autres sources de financement, telles que la Banque mondiale, l'Unicef, l'UNRWA et les organismes bilatéraux. L'Unesco a concentré ses efforts dans les programmes d'aide où il lui était possible de jouer elle-même un rôle actif, mais elle a de bonnes raisons d'examiner la totalité de l'aide à l'éducation qui devrait atteindre 2.7 billion de dollars par an. C'est seulement une telle approche globale qui permettrait de faire une évaluation de l'importance et du bien-fondé de ce type d'aide et de tirer des conclusions pour une répartition équitable de l'aide pour chaque pays en développement.

Après avoir clarifié certains mots clés, l'auteur fait l'analyse de l'aide en matière d'éducation en Afrique, démontre que la distribution parmi les pays ne correspond pas aux besoins apparents et que certains niveaux et types d'éducation ont été favorisés au détriment d'autres. Une brève revue de l'implication de l'Unesco dans l'étude et l'administration de l'aide précède les conclusions de l'auteur dont les remarques ont pour but de définir un rôle plus général que l'Unesco pourrait tenir dans la promotion de la coopération internationale pour le développement de l'éducation.

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SUMMARY

While Unesco's own programme of technical assistance to educational projects in developing countries has been modest by comparison with the total volume of aid (meaning external contributions) to education, the Organization has also facilitated cooperation between developing countries and other funding sources, such as the World Bank, UNICEF, UNRWA, and bilateral agencies. Unesco has concentrated its efforts on aid programmes where it could itself play an active role, but there are good reasons why Unesco should look at the total of all aid to education, which is estimated to attain some $2.7 billion per annum. Only such a global approach will make possible an evaluation of the impact and relevance of this sector of aid and enable conclusions to be drawn regarding whether or not each developing country is in fact receiving its "fair" share.

After clarifying certain key terms, the author undertakes an analysis of aid to education in Africa, showing that distribution among countries does not correspond to apparent need and that certain levels and kinds of education have been favoured through aid programmes at the expense of others. A brief review of Unesco's involvement in the study and administration of aid precedes the author's concluding remarks aimed at defining a more general role Unesco might play in promoting international cooperation for education development.

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I. INTRODUCTION

1. First, a word on terminology. In recent literature the term "cooperation" seems to be preferred to "aid", mainly because of certain adverse connotations that have been associated with the term "aid", and "cooperation" is now sometimes used as a synonym for "aid". Leaving the connotations aside for the moment it is, however, obvious that in ordinary language "cooperation" and "aid" do not mean the same thing.

2. A full description of international cooperation for educational development would involve, inter alia, (a) an indication of the identity of the cooperating parties (e.g. two or more developing countries, a developing country and two or more advanced countries, or a developing country and an international governmental or non-governmental organisation); (b) a statement of the purpose of the cooperation (e.g. a type or level of education, a project, a programme); (c) the nature of the contribution made by each of the cooperating parties (e.g. services, equipment, capital goods) and (d) the modalities of cooperation.

3. The term "aid", as used here, means the external contributions made to an educational project or programme in a developing country. If the contribution consists mainly of services it will be called technical assistance, and if it consists mainly of capital goods it will be called financial aid. It will be clear that "aid" or "technical assistance" without cooperation does not exist: in all cases the host country itself makes a contribution to a given project or programme, in terms of land, buildings, housing, transport or diplomatic facilities. "Aid" refers to one side of a cooperative effort.

4. As regards the connotations, the term "aid" (like "doing good") has lately been discredited by the top elite of the best anti-elitist circles because it allegedly implies condescension, pedantry and arrogance on the part of those who provide aid. In addition, it is argued that aid, including educational aid, has at times been used for political purposes, as an instrument of domination; but the same can of course be said of food, computers, oil, cinematographic films and anything else that is in short supply. Nor is there any superior virtue in "cooperation": in the course of their history many countries have cooperated for the sole purpose of damaging or, with a bit of luck, destroying, a third country. In any case, the present paper will leave virtue and emotional overtones alone, and whenever the term "aid" is used it will mean the external contribution to a cooperative project or programme, and nothing more or less.

5. Turning now to Unesco's role, it appears from its programme documents and reports that the Organization has in the past been mainly concerned with the administration of a modest technical assistance programme, "modest" that is, in relation to the total volume of aid received by the developing countries, not in relation to its own resources. Unesco has also facilitated cooperation between developing countries and other UN agencies such as Unicef, UNRWA, and the World Bank, by providing technical services or advice to the countries and/or agencies concerned. Further, Unesco has from time to time called upon its more affluent Member States, as well as on international governmental and non-governmental organizations to intensify their cooperation with a special group of countries (e.g. the Least Developed Countries) or to pay special attention to a

particular type of education (e.g., adult literacy training). However, appeals of this sort have been incidental, if not sporadic. Unesco has not systematically or consistently shown an interest in all international cooperative efforts to develop education in Third World countries, but has concentrated its efforts and staff resources on aid programmes where the Organization could itself play an active role.

6. Yet there are probably good reasons why Unesco should also look at cooperation for educational development in which it is not directly involved. One obvious reason is that the total amount of aid administered by Unesco is of the order of $35 million per annum, whereas the sum total of all educational aid is estimated at something like $2.7 billion per annum(1). This total volume of aid is administered by a relatively large number of national and international agencies, and one would hardly expect that the net results of all these efforts would be such that, for example, each developing country received its fair share of aid, or that all aid would be relevant to the specific needs of each of the developing countries. In fact, this is not the case, as will be shown later in this paper. If Unesco could somehow contribute to making this total aid flow more relevant to the needs of the recipient countries it would render an immensely valuable service to the international community. Furthermore, in view of its mandate, its experience and its world-wide membership, Unesco would be in a unique position to undertake a task of this sort.

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(1) H. M. Phillips, Education cooperation between developed and developing countries, Praeger, New York, 1976.

7. One might thus see Unesco playing two distinct roles, one in which Unesco is itself directly involved as administrator of technical assistance or an active partner in cooperation, and the other related to international cooperation in general. The first can be defined in the light of Unesco's actual and past performance, the other is a role that Unesco might play (or perhaps should play), and might be that of an outside observer keeping a record of what is going on or, at the other extreme, acting as the conscience of the world. No attempt is made here to define this second role, the present paper argues only that there is a need for some international body to keep an overall view of educational cooperation, i.e. a view of all developing countries and of all types, levels and branches of education.

8. This need will be illustrated with reference to countries in Africa. Perhaps it would be more convincing to consider developing countries in other regions as well, but this would pose difficulties from the viewpoint of comparability of both the size of the population and the state of educational advancement. Furthermore, if there are certain anomalies or distortions of educational aid flows in African countries one might assume that these also occur elsewhere.

9. In the following sections of this paper it is proposed that three questions be considered. First an analysis of educational aid to countries in Africa showing that some countries do not seem to have received a fair share of aid, and that at least one important level of education (namely primary education) has been neglected. Then follows a brief review of Unesco's direct involvement in the study and administration of aid. Finally, a few concluding remarks by way of elements that may contribute towards defining a more general role Unesco might play in international cooperation for educational development.

II. DISTRIBUTION OF EDUCATIONAL AID IN AFRICA

a. Distribution of aid in relation to need, by country

10. Any generally acceptable set of criteria for the distribution of educational aid by country would probably include a rule whereby those most in need would receive a preferential share of such assistance. One might discuss how to measure "need" or by what indicators (GNP, GNP per capita, the proportion of children not enrolled in primary schools, etc.), but no respectable donor agency would argue that the notion of relative need (however measured) should not be taken into account at all in the distribution of its educational assistance.

11. It probably makes little difference whether one uses economic or educational indicators of relative poverty. It is likely that countries with a large GNP per capita also have a higher proportion of their children enrolled in primary schools. This is illustrated in Table I which lists 38 countries in Africa and, for each of these countries, the primary enrolment ratio and the per capita income. The correlation between educational proverty (as indicated by primary enrolment ratio) and economic poverty (indicated by GNP per capita) is close (rho. = .59) and significant.

12. Table II contains a list of 32 countries in Africa ranked in order of size of population, Nigeria the largest and Swaziland the smallest. Column 2 of the table shows, for each of these countries, the proportion of children not enrolled in primary schools, and thus provides a (rough) indication of educational poverty. Column 3 shows the number of persons (experts or teachers) provided to each of these 32 countries under technical assistance arrangements with OECD countries, plus the number of fellowships per country. This column is, therefore, an indication of the amount of assistance each country is

receiving under bilateral aid agreements (OECD countries only). Now if educational aid were distributed on the basis of educational poverty, or even if educational poverty were given any consideration at all in the distribution of aid by countries, there would be a positive correlation between the figures in columns 2 and 3 of Table II. But in fact, there is a significant negative correlation between the data (rho = -.45). Educationally advanced countries receive relatively more assistance than others. Or, to take a concrete example from Table II, the Ivory Coast receives three times as much assistance as Upper Volta, although in the Ivory Coast only 16 per cent of the children receive no schooling as against 86 per cent in Upper Volta. Educationally, Ivory Coast is better off than Upper Volta, it is also better off economically, yet it receives more aid per child not enrolled and by head of population.

13. Those who believe that Unesco and the UN donor agencies perform any better must unfortunately be disappointed. Consider the data in column 4 of Table II, which represent the annual average amount of UNDP assistance per country over the past fifteen years. Comparing these amounts of aid with the proportion of children not renrolled in primary schools, one finds a negative correlation (rho = -.20). This coefficient is not significant, so the fact that it is negative does not mean that most aid went to the richer countries, but it does show that Unesco/UNDP educational assistance over these fifteen years was not inspired by the will to give the poorest countries most international support(1).

14. The UNDP/Unesco educational assistance foreseen for 1977/78 is not likely to change the picture, notwithstanding the pledge made

(1) The proportion of children not enrolled in primary schools is not the only possible indicator of educational poverty. One might also use, for example, the absolute number of children per country not receiving primary education. Using this indicator, the correlation coefficient between OECD assistance and educational poverty is 0,09 and that betweer UNDP assistance and educational poverty -0,02. Neither of these is significant.

in doc. 19 C/5 to pay special attention to the poorest countries. Table IV shows the amount of aid foreseen for 36 countries in Africa, as well as the per capita income for each of these countries. The correlation coefficient (rho = .24) is not any more significant than the negative coefficient mentioned in the preceding paragraph.

15. As regards financial assistance for education provided by the World Bank, the situation is somewhat different, but not better from the point of view of equity. Table III shows a list of 19 countries in Africa to which the World Bank provided loans or credits for educational development as of 30 June 1974. The countries are ranked in order of size of population. The Table lists, for each of the 19 countries, their GNP, their per capita income, the proportion of children not enrolled in primary schools, and the amount of the loan or credit granted by the World Bank. The data show a positive and significant correlation between the volume of aid the size of a country's population (rho = .69) and also between the volume of aid and a country's GNP (rho = .73). On the other hand, there is no significant correlation between aid and educational poverty (rho = -.27) or between aid and per capita income (rho = .31).

16. In conclusion, then, there is no evidence that the distribution of international assistance among countries took any special account of their economic or educational poverty. This applies to United Nations Agencies (UNDP and the World Bank) as well as to bilateral donors (OECD countries). Recent statements by Mr. M'Bow (for example in his Foreword to 19 C/4 Approved) and Mr. MacNamara (for example in his Address to the Board of Governors of the World Bank, 1974) to the effect that priority should be given to aiding the poorer nations, express an intent to change the aid policies of their organizations. Few would argue against these intentions to achieve a more reasonable,

equitable distribution of aid flows. One only wonders why no one thought of this before. Yet, the new policies may be difficult to apply in practice,(1) unless they are accompanied by changes in the distribution of educational aid by type and level of education.

b. Distribution of aid by objective

17. During the First Development Decade, the World Bank, UNDP and the bilateral agencies became concerned about the growing disparity between the per capita incomes of the developing and the industrialized countries, and they undertook to promote economic development in a number of ways: raising agricultural production, building roads and harbours, creating new industries, increasing power supplies. Also during the 1960's (but at different points during the decade), the major donor agencies convinced themselves that education could contribute to economic development through the "development of human resources" (a somewhat sinister synonym for "education"). They decided to give some assistance for education, but the ultimate objective remained economic development. Education was viewed as a means to an end, one of several "inputs". Insofar as education could contribute to economic development, supply the necessary manpower (almost as important as machines) they would allocate a (relatively small) proportion of their total aid programmes to education, but not otherwise.

18. The governments of most of the developing countries concurred with the view that education should primarily serve economic development. Their lack of skilled manpower in industry, commerce and government administration was evident, as witness, for example, the large number

(1) For a discussion of the World Bank's new policy cf. Aart J.M. van de Laar, the World Bank and the World's Poor, in: World Development, 1976, vol. 4., nos. 10/11. This article deals with World Bank assistance in general, not with educational aid in particular.

of important positions held by foreigners. The only branch of government holding a different view of the purpose of education was the Ministry of Education: it was all very well and good to train urgently needed manpower by providing more general secondary, technical and higher education, but this left primary education out on a limb, and primary education was most in demand with the majority of the parents. (It still is.) However, ministries of education do not normally make government policy, and their more powerful colleagues in the Plan, Economic Affairs and Finance, decided to give priority to second level and higher education, that is to say, to accept foreign aid for these levels of education and to set aside a large proportion of the country's own resources for this purpose, thus leaving the "social demand" for primary education to be met at a later stage in development.

19. There was thus substantial agreement between the major donors and the governments of the developing countries as regards the economic functions of education, as witness, for example, the following extracts from a UN General Assembly resolution. "Educational and training programmes will be so designed as to increase productivity... particular attention will be devoted to technical training, vocational training and retraining...Necessary facilities will be provided for... groups that are already productively engaged..."(1) There were, of course, exceptions among the donors: Unicef and many non-governmental organizations continued to be involved in primary education, and some bilateral donors continued to include a cultural component in their own educational aid programmes. But these activities were seen as charity or, in the case of cultural programmes, as a way of ensuring political influence in the recipient countries, or whatever, but falling outside the International Development Strategy.

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(1) UN International Development Strategy, UN General Assembly doc. A/L.600 1970.

20. As an illustration of the distribution by objective of educational aid supplied by UNDP, the table below shows the allocations in Unesco's Education Sector programme for the period 1971-1972.(1)

	Regular budget	UNDP	Total
Special groups (Women, refugees, handicapped children)	1,069,000	550,000	1,619,000
Curriculum, methods	524,000	3,373,000	3,897,000
Teacher training	256,000	15,501,000	15,757,000
Higher and Adult Education	—	396,000	396,000
Literacy	1,028,000	4,388,000	5,416,000
Planning and Buildings	701,000	2,401,000	3,102,000
Total	3,578,000	26,609,000	30,187,000

The figures are based on doc. 16 C/5 Approved. They may not be accurate because of the difficulty in deciding what is aid and what is not aid or, if aid, which category. No breakdown is available for the large amount estimated to be spent on teacher training, but of the 37 projects in this field, 29 were for secondary education, 5 for technical and vocational education, and 3 for primary education. In addition, educational assistance amounting to approximately US$ 19 million was included in the programme of Unesco's Natural Sciences sector, under headings such as science education, training of technicians, engineering education and agricultural education. The bulk of UNDP education aid was thus clearly earmarked for secondary education (shown under Unesco's education programme) and for technical, agricultural and higher education (shown under its Natural Sciences programme).

21. The World Bank began financing education projects in 1963. During the First Development Decade the Bank's loans and credits were granted almost exclusively for second level education (general, agricultural,

(1) The presentation of the Approved Programme for 1977-78 does not allow a similar breakdown of aid for the current biennium.

vocational, technical) on the basis of predicted manpower shortages in specific areas of economic activity. Subsequently, higher education and, more recently, primary education projects have been also considered for World Bank financing. However, the total distribution of Bank lending by level of education during the period 1963-1974 still shows a strong bias in favour of second level education, as is shown in the Table below:

World Bank lending for education 1963-1974

Level of education	Amount (millions US$)	Percent of total
Primary and basic	91	9
Second level	611	58
Higher education	356	34
Total	1,058	100

22. It has not been possible, for lack of data, to analyse the distribution of official bilateral educational aid by objective. It would no doubt be important to collect data of this sort in view of the fact that these sources provide something like US$ 1.7 billion worth of educational assistance per annum. The only global data readily available on aid by objective are derived from the stated educational policies of some of the major bilateral donors, and these are listed below.(1)

Bilateral Aid by Objective

Primary education: Belgium, Fed. Rep. of Germany, Sweden.

Non-formal education, literacy: Canada, France, Fed. Rep. of Germany, United Kingdom, United States.

Education for rural development and agricultural education: France, Sweden, United Kingdom.

Vocational training and technical education: Belgium, Canada, France, Fed. Rep. of Germany, Sweden, United Kingdom, USSR.

Science teaching: France, Sweden, USSR.

Higher education: USSR.

(1) Examples of educational aid received by two developing countries are given in Annex 1 to the present paper. They show that most of the assistance received by these countries was for second and third-level education, and that very little aid was provided for the development of primary education.

Curriculum, teaching aids, educational technology: Canada, United Kingdom, United States.

Planning, finance, reform: Canada, France, Fed. Rep. of Germany, United States.

23. It would obviously be of far greater interest to show the actual distribution of aid per donor and by objective. Policy statements reveal intentions, but operational imperatives often make it impossible to carry out a given policy objective and thus lead to a different distribution than that originally intended. Furthermore, what matters is the assistance countries actually receive - not what donors intend to give.

c. Distribution of aid by objective and by country

24. It will be recalled that the distribution of educational assistance by country shows a curious pattern. Contrary to what might have been expected, the poorer countries do not receive a (relatively) larger share of international aid than their richer neighbours. Neither the bilateral donor agencies nor the UN suppliers of aid (UNDP and the World Bank) seem to have included "equity" as a criterion in the geographical distribution of educational aid. Although there is no evidence that educationally advanced countries were deliberately favoured, yet a number of these seemed to attract most of the assistance available.

25. The peculiarity of this geographical distribution of international cooperation becomes understandable in the light of the distribution by objective. As long as educational aid is linked to short-term economic objectives, the types of education eligible for such aid are general secondary, technical, commercial and higher education. For a project or programme in any of these areas to be viable two conditions must be fulfilled: first, there must be enough students with sufficient previous schooling to ensure that the planned institutions will have

an intake large enough to be operationally efficient and, second, there should be a reasonable prospect that its output will be absorbed by the labour market. When these two conditions are met, potential donors will consider providing the buildings and/or the teachers required to operate the institution. Now as regards the first condition, a country is handicapped when it is small and educationally underdeveloped. Supposing, for example, that a national output of 2,000 secondary school graduates is required to guarantee a sufficient intake into a project for the training of technicians, this requirement may be met by small countries with a highly developed education system, or by countries with a relatively large population even though educationally speaking they may be under-developed. But countries that are both small and educationally over-developed will find it extremely difficult to meet a requirement of this sort. And where educational poverty goes hand in hand with economic poverty, as if often the case, the small, poor countries are further handicapped by the second constraint, namely some assurance that trainees will find employment. The link between educational aid and short-term economic development objectives diminishes the chances of small and poor countries receiving an equitable share of educational assistance.

III. SOME ASPECTS OF UNESCO'S DIRECT INVOLVEMENT IN AID

26. The preceding analysis, although admitted based on incomplete estimates, tends to show (a) that the relative poverty of a country (economic and educational poverty) has not been a criterion in the distribution of aid by countries, and (b) that an important area like primary education has been neglected by most donor agencies. It may well be, of course, that other educational needs in some developing countries have also been overlooked; in fact, this is likely to happen as long as each donor agency proceeds in relative ignorance of what most of the others are doing. There will thus, probably, be little argument about the proposition that the net total result of all international educational aid shows a number of distortions and anomalies, notwithstanding the best intentions of each of the aid agencies.

27. If Unesco regards this matter of some importance it might decide to do something about it, given its general interest in international cooperation and considering also that one of its main objectives is the development of education in Third World countries. But in deciding what Unesco could do it would be valuable in the first place to analyse what Unesco has been doing so far as regards educational aid. What are the kinds of things Unesco has shown itself good at: the organisation of meetings, the administration of aid programmes, study and analysis of the educational needs of developing countries, or, alternatively, where has Unesco been less successful and for what reasons. Without a study of Unesco's present and past roles it would, of course, be possible to make suggestions about what Unesco could do in the future but these might look like the fanciful visions of an enthusiast rather than the reasonings of

a sober administrator. What Unesco can do during the next biennium is determined to a large extent on its preceding programmes and budgets.

28. What follows are no more than a few impressionistic remarks about certain aspects of Unesco's direct involvement in aid, namely (a) its role as an administrator of a programme of technical assistance and (b) the way Unesco has in the past perceived the educational needs of the world. Many of these remarks are not at all well documented, they are mostly intended as illustrations of problem areas that would seem to merit some study and analysis.

(a) Unesco as administrator of aid

29. An evaluation of Unesco's role as administrator of technical assistance would probably use as one of its main criteria the relative efficiency of Unesco's administration, including questions such as the overhead cost of administration, the total cost of expert and other services provided and the expeditiousness of delivery of the programme.

30. It is not possible to determine the cost of administration of Unesco's educational aid programme with accuracy on the basis of its Programme and Budget. Thus, in document 19 C/5, the only identifiable cost is shown in section 1.20 (operational activities) and amounts to $4,426,000. But to this should be added, at a minimum, part of the cost of the central administrative unit in the Education Sector (total cost $3 million), probably half the cost of Operational Support (section 7.2, total $6,467,000), plus part of the cost of central administrative services (Bureau of the Budget, the Comptroller, Personnel). The total might add up to something like 28 per cent of the aid supplied to Member States but, again, no published data are available to substantiate this figure.

31. Recipient countries were not aware of the cost of Unesco expertise - or if they were, they did not care much - as long as technical assistance was financed only by UNDP or Unesco's own budget. But those countries that

received technical assistance as part of a World Bank loan or credit could not escape noting the total cost per expert per year. An official of one developing country was quoted as saying that his country paid $52,000 per year for a Unesco expert provided under the terms of a World Bank credit, that the country could get an equally qualified expert in the same field of competence under bilateral aid for $35,000 and from another developing country at $15,000. The figures indicate that the cost of Unesco experts is not competitive in the international market. As a World Bank staff member put it: "Unesco is pricing itself out of the market". Note that this applies to experts: not to equipment or fellowships. Note also that what a country pays (under the terms of a Bank loan or credit) is somewhat less than the actual total cost since Unesco contributes from its own budget to the administrative overhead cost of providing experts. As regards those Member States which contribute to UNDP, they pay the actual cost of the expert, plus UNDP overhead cost, plus Unesco's overhead expenditure - including most of what Unesco contributes from its own budget to the administrative cost of UNDP financed experts. Some of Unesco's largest contributors do not favour an increase in the volume of aid administered by Unesco.

32. The sometimes excessive delays in getting a project off the ground or answering letters from field staff have been a source of constant preoccupation to Unesco's management, and a number of attempts have been made over the years to solve this problem by means of a better internal organization. The administration of fellowships and the purchase of equipment have always been handled by separate, clearly identifiable units responsible, respectively, for all fellowships and all equipment, whatever the field of study of the fellows or the type of equipment. On the other hand, the provision of experts has a more eventful history. When the United Nations established its Technical Assistance Programme

Unesco created a special Department to handle its part of that programme, with Housewide responsibility. After a few years, this Department was abolished, some of its functions were retained in a central unit (Bureau of Relations with Member States) and others were assigned to the Programme Departments. Within the Department of Education, responsibility for the Technical Assistance experts was first vested in regional divisions (Arab States, Africa, Asia, Latin America) but at a later stage these divisions were abolished: each programme division was to handle its own technical assistance. However, when the World Bank began financing technical assistance, an exception was made to this rule: one division, namely the Educational Planning Division, was designated to administer the expert services financed from World Bank loans or credits. The present situation is different again; one section in the Educational Sector is responsible for the administration of all educational field experts, irrespective of the source of financing and a central House-wide unit, is responsible for the overall coordination of all technical assistance, including the fellowship and the equipment units.

33. The relative inefficiency of the technical assistance programme may be a matter of internal organization or structure. It may also be due, at least in part, to the elaborate control system whereby every outgoing letter or telegram has to be scrutinized by specialized units such as the Bureau of Personnel, the Bureau of the Comptroller and so forth. It is probably very important for a governmental bureaucracy to avoid mistakes, especially administrative mistakes (professional errors often pass unnoticed) but the many controls that are apparently needed to avoid them inevitably slow the operations down and increase the overhead cost.

34. Mention should also be made of a number of external constraints imposed by Unesco's Member States directly, or imposed upon Unesco as a Member Organization of the United Nations. Thus, the salary scales of staff, including resident expert staff, are fixed and standardized for the entire UN family; vacancies have to be advertised internationally; the appointment of an expert requires clearance of the Government where he is to serve and frequently also of his own Government; the selection of candidates for fellowships must be done by national authorities; orders for even small quantities of equipment are subject to international bidding.

35. The fact that Unesco's technical assistance programme is thus not competitive and not very efficient may well be compensated by the quality of the services provided. It may be that Unesco experts are more competent than those provided under bilateral aid arrangements. It may be that some developing countries suspect bilateral assistance to be inspired by selfish economic motives or, at least, by the desire to promote admiration for the way of life in the donor country, whereas Unesco experts are above suspicions of this kind. And there are a number of projects, especially long-term projects, where effectiveness is more important than efficiency.

(b) Unesco's perception of educational needs

36. Unesco's perception of educational needs has changed in the course of its history, partly because the needs themselves have changed and partly as a function of the type of aid Unesco could provide either directly or through the intermediary of other agencies like UNDP and the World Bank. A third factor, namely internal organization, also determines the way needs are perceived, but tends to operate in the

opposite direction, i.e. against change. To illustrate the point it is proposed to consider two periods in Unesco's history, the first covering the period from its inception till about 1960 and the second from about 1960 till the early seventies.

37. During the first phase Unesco devoted its attention to those categories of people who had not had any education at all, namely adult illiterates and school age children. Attempts were made to find new ways of educating illiterate adults through the establishment of pilot centres in different parts of the world (Haiti, China, East Africa and elsewhere) and by helping Member States in the training of staff for this new programme, which was called "fundamental education". With respect to the education of school children Unesco did not at the time seek any methodological innovation but it insisted that primary education should be "free and compulsory for all boys and girls," "in accordance with article 26 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights" (See, for example, 10 C/Resolution 1.41). Within the Secretariat of Unesco, these two programmes were handled by separate Departments, Fundamental Education and School Education.

38. Unesco did not merely proclaim primary education as a basic human right, it also tried to help putting this right into effect. For example, it provided from its own budget aid for the education of Palestinian refugee children, and for its "Major Project on the extension of primary education in Latin America". Further, it invited Member States "to offer, directly or through Unesco, financial or technical assistance to Latin American States, where needed..." for furthering the aim of this project. Similar efforts were made to promote primary education in Asian countries (Karachi Plan) and in Africa the first objective was, again, primary education (Addis Abeba Plan). The following data, taken from Unesco's budget for the year 1959, clearly show the priorities:

	Unesco regular budget (US $)	UNDP (US $)	Total (US $)
Primary education	423,000	919,000	1,342,000
Fundamental education	253,000	655,000	908,000
Secondary education (general & technical)	———	553,000	553,000
TOTAL	676,000	2,127,000	2,803,000

Aid to be provided from Unesco's own budget was earmarked exclusively for primary and fundamental education, and most of the technical assistance financed by UNDP was likewise to be devoted to these two types of education, second-level education taking third place.

39. By the end of the First Development Decade Unesco had practically abandoned the claim for free and compulsory education. The Approved Programme for 1971-'72 speaks of the educational needs of several categories of people, but the list does not include the still very large number of school age children not enrolled. At the same time the technical assistance provided by Unesco shows a clear shift in emphasis from primary education to second and third level types of education, as is indicated in para 37 above and the projects identified for consideration by the World Bank are, likewise, at these levels of education. It is true that in a number of countries the priorities had changed, but at the same time Unesco's perception of the needs had also changed, at least as regards the relative importance of primary education.

40. It is not suggested that the provision of aid for second level and higher education was less relevant to the needs of many developing countries than basic education and literacy training. Nor is there any incompatibility between Unesco's new interest in education for economic development and its original and continued concern for the

educational needs of underprivileged groups. The point is that during the first development decade Unesco came to perceive the needs of developing countries in a different way, that this new look coincided with the increased availability of aid for these newly discovered needs, and that Unesco's advice to its developing Member States changed accordingly. To some extent, the perception of needs is a function of the aid available.

41. On the other hand, Unesco's concern for adult education and literacy training continued. The expected amount of aid available during 1971-'72 was still relatively high ($5.4 million out of a total of $30.2 million) and the 1970 General Conference mentions literacy training as a priority need. Was adult literacy training considered more important than the education of primary school children? Did Unesco's perception of the relative importance of categories of needs depend exclusively on the amount of aid available? Or was it the Out-of-School Department's insistence that adult literacy programmes contributed to economic development ("work-oriented literacy") which persuaded UNDP to continue to provide aid in this field.

42. It might be held that the change in Unesco's views was a matter of expedience, not perception; that priorities for aid to developing countries were determined by UNDP in New York and the World Bank in Washington and that Unesco merely followed their advice. However, this is not borne out by the facts. Unesco itself provided most of the justification for providing aid designed to making education more relevant to the economic needs of the developing world: Third World countries would do well, in expanding their systems of education, to keep an eye on manpower requirements, they should manage their education systems in an efficient manner, try to increase the productivity of education, measure its output with the help of terminal performance specification, modernize educational methods ("production methods"?) make

use of appropriate new technologies, and so forth. These views were endorsed by Unesco's General Conference as well as by several regional conferences for which Unesco invited the Ministers of Education of the countries in the region concerned but also the Ministers responsible for Economic Affairs. Clearly, Unesco's own views on educational development had changed since 1959, and in the light of these views Unesco perceived the needs of developing countries differently in 1970. Specifically, it came to see second level education as more important than primary education.

43. But what to say about adult education and literacy training? In this regard Unesco apparently did not change its views, as witness, for example, the 1970 session of the General Conference which mentions literacy training as a priority need. Is adult literacy more important than primary education, given the need for both? It is difficult to understand why Unesco maintained one of its previous priorities (adult literacy) but not the other (primary education) unless one also considers the internal organization of its Education Sector. The Out-of-School Education Department quite naturally continued to defend its views on the needs of adult illiterates, and they provided a theoretical justification for meeting these needs in economic terms ("work-oriented literacy") as well as on general grounds ("prisons of ignorance", "life-long education"). Primary Education was not a Department. If there had been such a Department, then that Department would probably have been able to justify aid for this type of eudcation on both economic and educational grounds.

44. Again, these are impressionistic remarks which do not permit any conclusion except perhaps the following. The relationship between the three variables that have been briefly considered — namely, (a) the availability of aid, (b) perception of needs and (c) internal structure — is a complex one. Although it would seem logical to

think that perception of needs is an independent variable, that the size and nature of the aid to be made available is a function of this perception, and that in turn the internal organization of an Agency is based on aid to be provided, this does not seem to be the case in practice. It would seem that an Agency directly involved in providing aid cannot perceive the needs of a given country (or of the whole world) without reference to the aid it provides, and its internal bureaucracy. However, it would require a considerable amount of study to determine the relative importance of each of those other variables in a given agency at a given time.

IV. A NEW APPROACH TO INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION FOR EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

45. Developing countries are becoming increasingly interested in international cooperation, as distinct from technical assistance. Consider, for example, the recommendations of the Fourth Regional Conference of Ministers of Education and those responsible for Economic Planning in Asia and Oceania, held in Colombo in July 1978. The Conference proclaimed "the principle of equal and reciprocal cooperation rather than that of donors and recipients"; it noted "that the transfer of technology from the developed world to the developing world has its own constraints and usually has many strings attached to it and that it would, therefore, be desirable for the countries of the region to concentrate on developing their own indigenous appropriate technology..."; it invited Unesco, "in collaboration with other international or regional organizations concerned, to continue and intensify its regional action with a view to fostering technical cooperation between the countries of the region, in particular developing countries..."(1) Similar statements were made at Regional Conferences organized by Unesco in the Arab States (Abu Dhabi, November 1977) and in Africa (Lagos, January 1976). It would seem, therefore, that a number of countries nowadays prefer technical cooperation between developing countries (TCDC) to technical assistance from developed to developing countries, and that they would work with Unesco to play, or to continue to play, a role in promoting this kind of cooperation.

46. This in itself is not a new role: Unesco has stimulated or coordinated regional cooperation and, by implication, TCDC for at least

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(1) Draft Final Report, Unesco, 1978.

twenty-five years, beginning with the establishment of the Arab States Centre for Fundamental Education (ASFEC) and the Centro Regional de Educacion Fundamental en America Latino (CREFAL). Its Regional Offices and Bureaus have promoted cooperation in those parts of the world where they operate. And, of course, Regional Conferences on education provide a forum for Member States where they can discuss regional cooperation and TCDC. In all these enterprises Unesco has played an active role, by determining the areas of cooperation (adult literacy training, educational planning, or whatever) and by making substantial contributions towards their implementation. They are part of Unesco's Regular Programme and as such the result of intergovernmental initiative and consensus. They are not designed to meet specific problems or needs of individual countries, and they leave individual countries little initiative in seeking advice or assistance from other countries, either within or outside their regions, or from other international governmental or non-governmental organizations. In some respects Unesco's regional programmes are a decentralized form of technical assistance.

47. If Unesco is thinking about new ways or new dimensions of international cooperation for educational development it might consider, inter alia, playing a more discreet role, by facilitating rather than coordinating cooperation, and leaving it to individual countries to decide for which problems to seek advice and where to obtain it. Such a new approach would open up a number of possibilities, some of which are set out below.

a) Directory of international educational cooperation

48. The idea that Unesco might wish to establish an international directory of educational cooperation stems directly from the discussion of aid to countries in Africa in Section II of the present

paper. Indeed, if all agencies and countries concerned had been aware of the fact that some African countries received much less aid than others (in terms of the proportion of children not enrolled or by head of population) and that, furthermore, an important sub-sector like primary education was not included in most aid programmes, then anomalies of this sort would have been detected and, probably, redressed.

49. An international directory of educational cooperation should preferably be based on information supplied by the countries where cooperative projects are carried out (i.e. the "recipient" countries). In a number of these countries the Resident Representative of the UNDP has already collected some data on aid, but these data seldom permit comparisons between countries. It is suggested that the type of data to be collected should include, for each country:

- the external agencies with which educational cooperation has been established (International Governmental and non-governmental organizations, regional organizations, bilateral aid agencies, other developing countries);
- for each agency, the purpose of cooperation (development of a particular type or level of education, or special projects);
- an indication of the contributions made (i) by the country itself and (ii) by each of the external agencies or countries, in real terms (e.g. number of classrooms built, man-years of expert services, fellowships, etc.)

b) Studies of national systems of education

50. A number of Reports on national systems of education have been carried out by Unesco in the framework of its cooperative programme with the World Bank (Education Sector Studies, Reports of Project Identification Missions). However, these reports have been prepared

for a specific purpose, namely to pave the way for World Bank educational aid to Third World countries, and they tend to regard education primarily as a means for economic development for reasons explained earlier.

51. If it is now assumed that Unesco is interested in "cooperation" rather than "aid" (or as much as in aid) it might use the experience gained in the preparation of studies on national systems of education in accordance with this new orientation. That is to say, Unesco might decide to produce and distribute country studies on education which (a) are broader in scope than most of the Reports it has prepared until now and (b) mention a country's achievements as well as its problems or needs.

52. On the first point, it is evident that all countries expect education to do more than preparing young people for the world of work. Economic values are no doubt important everywhere; but most countries would attach equal or greater importance to religious, cultural and social values, and these are reflected in their national systems of education. This is not simply a matter of curriculum, in the sense that religious instruction or arts education are considered to be of equal (or greater) importance than, say, science teaching or technical education. In a number of countries the organization and administration of education is determined by religious differences. Again, the difficulty experienced by some countries in deciding on a language of instruction in primary schools often stems from the different views on cultural and social values held by different groups of the population. It follows that a study on education which ignores the value system of the country concerned, and the educational issues and problems that arise from that particular system, cannot be said to be comprehensive.

53. On the second point: a study which focusses on a country's problems, shortcomings, defects and needs, in order to elicit aid, but which ignores a country's achievements, is not complete either. Most Third World countries have made very considerable progress over the past ten or twenty years in developing their systems of education. They have not merely expanded these systems, they have also solved a number of problems and issues which at the start seemed intractable or insurmountable. On the other hand, there is no country in the world, however "advanced" it may be, which has no educational problems. In the field of education, every country has something to offer, and every country has something to learn, whatever their stage of development.

54. The availability of comprehensive studies on national systems of education, i.e. studies which list achievements as well as problem areas in the light of the national value systems, would enable countries to decide for themselves where to turn for advice on particular problems or issues. Thus, if a country has decided that it wishes to improve or expand its programmes in pre-primary education, adult literacy training, arts education, science teaching, or whatever, they could on the basis of Unesco studies determine to which country or countries they should send a mission of their own for further discussion or a more detailed study. One might object at this point that countries can (and, in fact, do) send missions of this sort without having at their disposal a series of country studies; or that, if they do not know where to go, Unesco could advise them where to look for significant achievements in pre-primary education, adult literacy training, and so forth. The answer is, first that the choice of countries to be visited is usually somewhat arbitrary, based on traditional links with some countries or on publications showing spectacular advances in others; and that Unesco is not at present competent to advise on all types, levels and forms

of education, nor does it know much about recent advances in a number of its Member States, notably its advanced Member States. Second, the benefits to be derived from the study of one particular subject, type, form or level of education are very limited unless one has a reasonably clear and objective picture of the total system of education of which they are a part. A study mission or delegation sent abroad by a country in search of experience does not normally have the time or the opportunity to familiarize itself with all aspects of education in one or several other countries, and is, therefore, likely to see issues, problems and achievements out of context. Comprehensive Unesco studies on national systems of education would not only help in selecting the countries to be visited but would also provide the sort of general briefing that would enable a country delegation to maximize the benefits of such visits.(1)

(c) Technical assistance and technical cooperation

55. Unesco's technical assistance programme focusses on certain aspects or types of education for which assistance appears to be most needed by most of the developing countries, such as teacher training, technical education, adult literacy programmes; and staff have been recruited on that basis. Given Unesco's limited resources this approach is rational as long as it is meaningful to speak of common needs of the majority of developing countries, and this clearly was the case during the first development decade. However, during the past ten or fifteen years as the education systems of all developing countries have expanded at a very rapid rate, their problems have become more complex and the expertise required more specialized and diversified. Furthermore, different countries have reached different stages of educational

(1) Experience has shown that studies of national systems of education are also of value to the countries themselves, and to students of comparative education.

development, and each stage of development brings its own problems. In view of the increased complexity of all systems, and given also the differences in levels of development, it becomes less and less realistic to speak of areas of common needs. Accordingly, the proportion of the needs of Member States that can be met by Unesco's technical assistance programme has also decreased. And if the present approach (hiring staff for common needs) is maintained, this proportion is likely to continue to decrease as education in Member States develops.

56. On the other hand, if Unesco decided to facilitate technical cooperation, it could assist its Member States in the solution of a variety of problems. To take a concrete example, suppose that a country like, say, Kenya, considers introducing the teaching of modern mathematics in its secondary schools, and that the opinions of its own experts in the Ministry of Education and the University are divided as to the relative merits and disadvantages of such a move. They would no doubt like to hear the views of educators, mathematics teachers and administrators from half a dozen countries where modern mathematics is taught in secondary schools, and they could propose holding a symposium in Nairobi to discuss the issue further and ask Unesco to help with arranging for outside participation, it being understood that the Government of Kenya would bear all the cost. Clearly this is a kind of service that Unesco could render, given its world-wide contacts in the field of education, even though it may not have a programme of its own for the teaching of modern mathematics, and even though it may not have a mathematician on its staff. Furthermore, this is a kind of service which cannot easily be provided by any one bilateral aid agency.

57. In conclusion there would seem to be good reasons why Unesco might decide to play a new role in international educational cooperation. In

the first place, it would seem to correspond to the wishes of its Member States, as witness their statements at Regional Conferences. Second, there are a number of ways in which Unesco could stimulate or facilitate international cooperation such as, for example, keeping a record of cooperative activities, carrying out studies of national systems of education, and helping Member States to solve technical problems where the experience in several other countries is relevant. And finally, by virtue of its mandate, its world-wide contacts and its experience, Unesco is uniquely equipped to render a variety of services of this kind.

TABLE I

PRIMARY ENROLMENT RATIOS AND GNP PER CAPITA

		Primary enrolment ratio	GNP per capita (US$)
1.	Nigeria	47	280
2.	Ethiopia	21	100
3.	Zaire	88	150
4.	Sudan	40	230
5.	Tanzania	41	160
6.	Kenya	100	200
7.	Uganda	44	240
8.	Ghana	55	430
9.	Mozambique	46	340
10.	Madagascar	85	180
11.	Cameroon	74	250
12.	Ivory Coast	84	260
13.	Angola	84	710
14.	Upper Volta	14	90
15.	Mali	22	80
16.	Guinea	28	120
17.	Malawi	56	130
18.	Senegal	43	330
19.	Zambia	87	520
20.	Niger	17	120
21.	Rwanda	67	80
22.	Chad	36	100
23.	Burundi	29	90
24.	Somalia	20	90
25.	Benin	43	120
26.	Sierra Leone	35	190
27.	Togo	90	250
28.	Centr. Africa	75	210
29.	Liberia	59	390
30.	Congo	100	470
31.	Mauritania	17	290
32.	Lesotho	68	140
33.	Mauritius	83	580
34.	Botswana	85	290
35.	Gabon	100	1960
36.	G. Bissau	51	390
37.	Gambia	24	170
38.	Swaziland	70	390

Sources : a. for enrolment ratios, Unesco Statistical Yearbook 1975
b. for GNP per capita, World Bank Atlas, 1976.

Notes 1. Countries are listed in order of population size
2. The GNP per capita figures are for 1974; the enrolment ratios are also for 1974, or nearest year available.

TABLE II

TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE AND PROPORTION OF CHILDREN NOT ENROLLED IN PRIMARY SCHOOLS

	Country	per cent children not enrolled	OECD T.A. (persons)	UNESCO/UNDP (US $ per year)
1.	Nigeria	53	405	77.5
2.	Zaire	28	3246	77
3.	Sudan	60	1192	32.6
4.	Kenya	—	2270	54.9
5.	Uganda	56	628	62.9
6.	Ghana	45	1872	39.3
7.	Madagascar	15	1279	19.4
8.	Cameroon	26	1933	70.6
9.	Ivory Coast	16	3447	121.7
10.	Upper Volta	86	1038	29.7
11.	Mali	78	509	108
12.	Guinea	72	39	45.8
13.	Malawi	44	749	24.1
14.	Senegal	57	1993	23.7
15.	Zambia	13	1622	28.9
16.	Niger	83	664	49.3
17.	Rwanda	33	1366	130.5
18.	Chad	64	664	66.4
19.	Burundi	71	829	59.5
20.	Somalia	80	678	59.5
21.	Benin	57	1074	18.5
22.	Sierra Leone	65	708	45.3
23.	Togo	10	978	56
24.	Centr. Africa	25	587	41.5
25.	Congo	—	737	122
26.	Mauritania	83	327	23.4
27.	Lesotho	32	336	358
28.	Mauritius	17	768	6.5
29.	Botswana	15	213	52.1
30.	Gabon	—	554	53
31.	Gambia	76	271	28.9
32.	Swaziland	30	316	109.5

Sources : a. for enrolment : Unesco Statistical Yearbook 1975
b. for technical assistance from OECD countries : H.M. Phillips, Education Cooperation between developed and developing countries
c. for UNDP/Unesco Technical Assistance : Education in Africa, Unesco document ED.76/MINEDAF.

TABLE III

WORLD BANK AID TO 19 COUNTRIES IN AFRICA AS OF 30 JUNE 1974

Country	GNP (millions US$)	GNP per capita (US$)	Per cent not enrolled	Volume of aid (millions of US$)
1. Nigeria	20.810	280	53	135.2
2. Ethiopia	2.660	100	79	36.8
3. Zaire	3.530	150	12	11.8
4. Sudan	3.460	230	60	15.4
5. Tanzania	2.320	160	59	32.5
6. Kenya	2.610	200	00	19.0
7. Uganda	2.700	240	56	24.7
8. Madagascar	1.570	180	15	7.2
9. Cameroon	1.760	250	26	25.4
10. Ivory Coast	2.930	260	16	19.1
11. Upper Volta	520	90	86	3.6
12. Mali	450	80	78	5.5
13. Malawi	660	130	44	7.0
14. Senegal	1.590	330	57	4.5
15. Zambia	2.470	520	13	83.7
16. Chad	410	100	64	5.2
17. Somalia	290	90	80	3.7
18. Sierra Leone	540	190	65	4.5
19. Gabon	1.030	1.960	00	3.6

Sources : a. For population, GNP and GNP per cpita; World Bank Atlas

b. Enrolment : Unesco Statistical Yearbook

c. World Bank aid for Education : Education in Africa, Unesco document ED.76/MINEDAF, Unesco 1975.

TABLE IV.

UNDP EDUCATIONAL ASSISTANCE AND GNP PER CAPITA

Country	UNDP AID (19 C/5) US$	GNP per capita US $
1. Kenya	1.500	200
2. Niger	4.950	120
3. Liberia	11.100	390
4. Seychelles	12.000	520
5. Malawi	17.900	130
6. Botswana	25.200	290
7. Mauritania	35.000	290
8. Senegal	47.000	330
9. Mozambique	65.000	340
10. Madagascar	84.000	180
11. Cape Verde Islands	88.100	470
12. Mauritius	91.500	580
13. Sao Tome	100.000	570
14. Swaziland	126.000	390
15. Angola	149.000	710
16. Chad	162.600	100
17. Uganda	265.000	240
18. Somalia	266.900	90
19. Congo	344,600	470
20. Guinea	348.650	120
21. Gambia	355.600	170
22. Burundi	366.000	90
23. Central African Empire	367.600	210
24. Rwanda	406.000	80
25. Upper Volta	427.000	90
26. Gabon	457.380	1.960
27. Benin	497.900	120
28. Cameroon	550.000	250
29. Ethiopia	675.900	100
30. Ivory Coast	708.950	460
31. Ghana	746.800	430
32. Tanzania	776.950	160
33. Zaire	877.380	150
34. Lesotho	917.800	140
35. Sierra Leone	920.400	190
36. Nigeria	4.665.400	280

Sources : a. For UNDP educational assistance : document 19 C/5

b. For GNP per capita; World Bank Atlas, 1976.

EDUCATIONAL AID TO ZAMBIA AND KENYA

a) Flow of financial resources for education to Zambia(1)

1. Since its independence in 1964, Zambia's efforts in the field of education have been concentrated on the expansion of general secondary, technical, and higher education, with the active support of all donors and technical advisers, including Unesco. The results are, in a way, impressive. Thus, the University of Zambia has a magnificent campus, complete with dormitories, cafeterias, laboratories, sports fields and comfortable staff houses. It includes, inter alia, a School of Education started as a Unesco Special Fund Project, a School of Engineering financed by the World Bank (about $4 million) and a School of Mines financed by Sweden. Most of the staff are foreign but this does not seem to pose any great problem, the main difficulty being to find qualified students. Total enrolment is about 2,500, as against 5,000 planned. The annual recurrent cost per student is approximately $4,000 (as against $50 per primary school child).

2. The main source of capital aid is the World Bank, with $58 million, mostly for general and technical education. The largest supplier of technical assistance is the United Kingdom which during 1976 provided the following staff:

University of Zambia	61
General secondary education	339
Vocational & technical education	112
Teacher training	24
Primary education	21
Administration & inspection	13
Educational broadcasting	4
Educational planning	4
	578

(1) Most of the data in this section are based on the "Report on Development Assistance to Zambia, 1976", a confidential document prepared by the UNDP Regional Office for South East Africa, Lusaka.

It is not possible to evaluate the total cost of this aid programme, since many experts are provided under an arrangement whereby the Government of Zambia pays salaries at local rates and the UK tops them. However, the point of interest here is that most of the technical assistance goes to second and third level education.

3. The UK is by no means the only supplier of technical assistance to Zambia in the field of education. Norway contributed over $2 million, the Federal Republic of Germany $932,000 (for the establishment of an Institute for Physical Education), Canada $873,000, mostly for technical education, Denmark $693,000, Sweden $662,000, the Netherlands $474,000, France $245,000, the USSR 97 teachers - all during 1976. Unesco prov. ed from its own budget a grant of $2,000 for Art Education, and a grant of $5,000 to an Organization promoting public understanding of science and technology; further, but financed by UNDP, $8,505 for fellowship training and equipment at the School of Education of the University of Zambia, and a Professor for the School of Mines ($46,493). Figures are expressed in cost to the donors, and they vary considerably. For example, the Netherlands count $22,000 for a university lecturer (but $30,000 for an Associate expert through Unesco), Denmark $18,000 and Czechoslovakia $4,000.

4. The total of technical assistance in the field of education received by Zambia during 1976 is approximately as follows:

Type or level of Education	Admin. Staff	Teachers	Fellowships
Higher education	78		147
General secondary education	1	412	-
Technical education	20	123	...
Primary education	..	45	-
Planning and administration	18	-	...
Handicapped children	-	5	...
Ed. broadcasting and TV	5	-	...

5. The relative neglect of primary education by the Government led to a situation which now causes general concern, as witness the country-wide discussion of the recent educational reform plans. In rural areas the majority of the primary schools offer 4 or 5 grades only, although the programme is of 8 years' duration. In urban regions they do offer the full course but a substantial number of children cannot be admitted for lack of space. In all schools, the quality of education is poor, as a result of woefully inadequate buildings and the large proportion of untrained teachers. This unfortunate situation immediately affects a large proportion of the 900,000 children currently enrolled in primary schools (and particularly those in the rural areas). Furthermore, the low quality of primary education produces a negative effect on the higher levels of education to which the Government devoted so much of its resources. Thus, the generally poor performance in mathematics of university students was attributed by one professor at the University of Zambia to the fact that they had not acquired the basic knowledge and skills in the primary school. It would seem, therefore, that the policy of promoting higher levels of education at the expense of primary education is not only inequitable but also inefficient. Clearly the bulk of external aid is applied to general secondary technical and higher education. In the case of UNDP and the World Bank, this is a deliberate attempt to make education contribute to economic development. Their view was probably shared by the other major donors, as well as by the Government of Zambia, but not necessarily by the Ministry of Education. In any case, primary education was left to national resources or rather, what was left in the Education Budget after paying for the higher levels and types of education.

b) Educational Policy in Kenya

6. The history of educational development in Kenya since its independence in 1963 is not greatly different from that in Zambia: Considerable Government expenditure and massive external aid were devoted to general secondary, technical and higher education whilst the development of primary education was assigned second priority. In view of this similarity there will be no point in going over the same ground again by reporting who gives what type of assistance and for what purpose. There are, however, one or two features that stand out more clearly in Kenya than in Zambia. First, the decision to base educational development on manpower considerations was made by the Kenyan Government itself, not on the advice of donor agencies nor as a result of their leverage. Second, some of the consequences of this policy such as educated unemployment and the rift between urban and rural development, are more visible in Kenya than in Zambia. These and other issues are documented in a remarkable study on educational aid and national development in Kenya by Mustafa Tuqan(1) and the following paragraphs are based on this study.

7. Since manpower was seen as the key to economic development, a survey of high-level manpower requirements and resources for the period 1964-1970 was carried out shortly after independence. The results were classified in the usual categories, A, B, C and D and showed a shortfall in each of these. For example in Category B "occupations", it was anticipated that there would be a shortfall of 626 primary school teachers, 659 engineering and laboratory technicians, 310 junior accountants, and so forth. These results were based on enquiries from private and mixed enterprises with 100 employees or more. Agricultural enterprises were not included in the survey.

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(1) Nancy Parkinson, Educational aid and national development, op.cit.

8. The task of formulating a national policy for education was assigned to a Commission of fourteen members, ten of whom were Africans. The members of the Commission were appointed by the Minister of Education. In its deliberations, the Commission was, of course, aware of the Manpower Survey, and it was also influenced by two other documents, namely the "Development Plan for 1964-70", and a publication called "African Socialism and its application to Planning in Kenya". All three documents emphasized the relationship between educational development and economic development, via the training of skilled manpower. Hence the Commission had no difficulty in proposing the expansion of secondary, technical commercial and higher education. But what about primary education? Clearly, Kenya did not have the means to provide primary education for all children, and at the same time expand its higher levels of education. To escape the dilemma, the Commission suggested that primary education could also contribute to economic progress "both by providing a reservoir of candidates for secondary and higher education and by fulfilling the minimum basic educational requirements for participating in the modern sector of economic life". The argument is not very convincing since it implies that first priority should be given to the higher levels of education, and this is in fact what the Government decided. According to Mustafa Tuqan, both the first and the second development plans "show clearly that the Government chose to place the main emphasis on the expansion of higher levels of education and trying to gear these to the manpower needs of the modern sector of economic life, while providing facilities for a slower but steady increase in primary school enrolment".

9. For the individual parent or student in Kenya, the importance of "the modern sector of economic life" made a great deal of sense. Any job in the city was better than eking out a meagre subsistence on the land. Also, it seemed reasonable enough that you had to be educated

in order to gain access to this modern sector. Education was thus accepted as the road to (individual) economic betterment. However, the possibilities of expanding the modern sector and creating opportunities are limited in Kenya, more so than in Zambia which has mineral resources (copper) and where 35 percent of the population live in urban areas (Copperbelt, Lusaka, the Railway). The supply of school graduates soon became larger than the number of job openings. In 1970, the number of students who sat for the School Certificate examination was 22,000; of these, 11,000 passed; there were 7,000 job openings. The 4,000 who had passed the examination but found no work could at least try to get into the university, but the future of the 11,000 who had failed the School Certificate examination was very bleak. And since in an over-supplied labour market of this sort employers tend to upgrade their specifications (why take a secondary school diploma holder if they can get a university graduate) more students were seeking higher levels of education, until the point was reached where even university graduates found no suitable employment or, for that matter, any employment. Education based on manpower planning thus served primarily the personal interest of a nascent elite: those lucky enough to get into a good school, to pass the examinations and to find a suitable job.

10. In discussing the role of the major donor agencies Mustafa Tuqan raises an interesting question. They had assumed considerable responsibility for educational development in Kenya, for without their help the Kenyans could never have developed secondary and higher level education to the extent they did. According to Tuqan, donors should have used this leverage by pointing out that national development required, in the first place, the development of the agricultural sector where 90 per cent of the population have to make a living. Tuqan realizes, of course, that it would have been difficult, especially for a country like the United Kingdom, to advocate a type of education

adapted to rural life and a fundamentally agrarian economy; it could have been perceived as offering the African country an "inferior" type of education and the charge of "neo-colonialism" might easily have been made. "Yet," says Tuqar, "in spite of these considerations, it seems an objectionable feature of aid to take the easy way out and give assistance to an educational system that clearly does not enhance the social and economic evolution of a country such as Kenya to any appreciable extent." A notable statement. Would Unesco take this line? Of course, it is common practice to help an undecided government make up its mind, but in a case where the government of a Member State is firmly determined to develop its education services in a particular way it is not easy for an international civil servant to refuse aid, or to refuse recommending aid because he feels that what the government proposes does not serve the best interests of the country.

ANNEX 2

SELECTIVE BIBLIOGRAPHY

Development Cooperation, 1976 Review, OECD, Paris, 1976 (271 p.)

A detailed analysis of aid provided by OECD Member countries and by OPEC countries, giving most recent data as well as an overall review of aid during the period 1965-1975. No special chapter on education but some of the 46 statistical tables contain data on the numbers of fellowship, teachers and educational advisors provided by each Member country during 1973, 1974 and 1975.

Education in Africa, evolution, reforms, prospects, UNESCO document ED.76/MINEDAF 3, Paris 1975 (62 p.)

Working document for the Conference of Ministers of Education of African Member States of Unesco. Analyses trends in the development of education in Africa since 1961 and problems to be solved in the recasting of education systems. Emphasises the need for basic education, and ways and means of improving regional and international cooperation.

Gould, Elaine S. & Nearinger, Adèle & Zymelman, Manuel : Selected and annotated bibliography on financing education, US AID, 1973 (48 p.)

References include general works on the financing of education and publications concerning educational financing in specific countries. A few items include data on external financing.

Parkinson, Nancy : Educational aid and national development, The McMillan Press, London, 1976 (411 p.)

The bulk of this book is devoted to case studies of educational development in six countries, namely Kenya, Senegal, Tunisia, India, Turkey and Chili, with special reference to external aid received by these countries. In addition, the author describes the policies and the administration of aid as practised by bilateral and multilateral agencies.

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Sheffield, James R. & Diejomaoh, Victor P. : Non-formal education in African development, New York, 1972 (258 p.)

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primary education and in female education. Such investment, he says, is at least as good as any investment in non-human capital.

Statistical Yearbook 1975, published by UNESCO, 1976 (767 p.)

Reference tables on education, science and technology, culture and communication.

United Nations Children's Fund, Flow of external aid to education at the primary school level and to non-formal education, and UNICEF participation. Report of the Executive Director, document E/ICEF/L.1358, 15 February 1977 (51 p. plus annexes)

This Report was prepared for the UNICEF 1977 Session of its Executive Board, with the assistance of H.M. Phillips (consultant). It deals mainly with UNICEF's assistance, but also with other sources, amounts and types of aid for primary and non-formal education, both multilateral and bilateral.

World Bank Atlas 1976, World Bank, Washington D.C. (28 p.)

Contains statistical data on population, per capita product, and growth rates for all countries.

Zevin : Economic Cooperation of Socialist and Developing Countries, 1976.

Provides information on aid given by the Commission for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA).

Zeylstra, W.G. : Aid or Development, Leyden, 1975 (268 p.)

Provides a critical analysis of the concept of development and of related concepts ("aid", "growth", "progress", "modernization") in a historical and philosophical perspective of Western civilisation. The motives of donor countries are explained in this light. Recipient countries as a whole are only marginally interested in "development" which is seen as a typically Western notion - although the intelligentsia of recipient countries, educated in the West, accept development as a national objective, The author does not specifically discuss educational assistance.

Zymelman, Manuel : Financing and efficiency in education, USAID, 1973 (314 p.)

Deals for the most part with problems and issues relating to internal financing, such as taxes commonly used to finance education, public and private funding, national student loan institutions, and financing educational broadcasting, but also contains one chapter on external financing. The author proposes 2 indices, one for measuring educational funding and the other for measuring educational expenditures.